

## Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 ROME 02733 251631Z

62

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C O N F I D E N T I A L ROME 2733

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PINT, ELAB, IT

SUBJECT: LABOR - UIL CHIEF PLANS FORMATION OF NEW LABOR CONFED-  
ERATION

1. BEGIN SUMMARY. UIL SECRETARY GENERAL VANNI STATES THAT THE FORMA-  
TION LATER THIS YEAR OF A NEW ANTI-COMMUNIST LABOR CONFEDERATION IS AL-

MOST CERTAIN. THE NEW ORGANIZATION WOULD WOULD COMBINE THOSE ELEMENTS  
IN UIL AND CISL WHICH OPPOSE THE INCREASING HEGEMONIZATION OF THE  
ITALIAN LABOR MOVEMENT STEMMING FROM PROGRESS TOWARD LABOR UNITY.  
FINANCIAL BACKING WILL BE FORTHCOMING FROM THE AFL-CIO, VANNI  
STATES. END SUMMARY.

2. RAFFAELE VANNI, SECRETARY GENERAL OF UIL, CONFIDED TO ME YESTERDAY  
THAT THE FORMATION OF A NEW DEMOCRATIC LABOR CONFEDERATION IS ALMOST  
CERTAIN. THE TIMING IS NOT YET FIXED, BUT HE INDICATED THE MOVE  
WOULD ALMOST SURELY OCCUR THIS YEAR. THE NEW CONFEDERATION WOULD IN-  
CLUDE THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC AND REPUBLICAN ELEMENTS WITHIN UIL, AND  
ALSO POSSIBLY SOME UIL SOCIALISTS WHO HAVE SIDED WITH VANNI IN THE  
PAST. THESE WOULD BE JOINED BY THOSE CISL ELEMENTS GENERALLY  
IDENTIFIED AS THE CISL MINORITY: THE AGRICULTURAL WORKERS OF  
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PAGE 02 ROME 02733 251631Z

SARTORI, THE ELECTRICAL WORKERS OF PRIOLI, THE TRANSPORTATION WORKERS

OF LEOLINI, THE RAILROAD WORKERS OF IANNONE AND ALL OTHER ELEMENTS WHICH COULD BE BROUGHT ALONG.

3. THERE ARE SEVERAL IMPORTANT PRECONDITIONS FOR VANNI: THE NEW CONFEDERATION MUST NOT BE SIMPLY THE LAUNCHING OF A NEW "CATHOLIC" LABOR ORGANIZATION, I.E., IT MUST DEFINITELY BE NON-CONFESSIONAL; NATIONAL SECRETARY FRANCO MARINI MUST BE BROUGHT ALONG IN THE NEW GROUPING; THE NECESSARY FINANCIAL BACKING MUST BE IN HAND; AND SCALIA MUST BE OUT OF THE PICTURE.

4. WITH RESPECT TO THE FIRST POINT, VANNI SAID SCALIA GENERALLY REPRESENTED THE NOTION OF REGENERATING THE CATHOLIC INFLUENCE IN TRADE UNIONISM. VANNI SAID SCALIA IS A MAN WITH PRACTICALLY NO POPULAR SUPPORT ANY MORE, AND THAT EVEN IRVING BROWN, EUROPEAN REPRESENTATIVE OF THE AFL-CIO, NOW RECOGNIZED THIS. MARINI WAS OPPOSED TO LABOR UNITY, BUT WAS ALSO CLOSELY ASSOCIATED WITH THE LEFT WING OF THE CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC PARTY, WITH THE FORZE NUOVE AND BASE FACTIONS OF THE DC. MARINI WAS NOW FEARFUL THAT MINISTER OF INDUSTRY DONAT-CATTIN, FORZE NUOVE LEADER, WAS ABOUT TO DECLARE HIMSELF IN FAVOR OF LABOR UNITY. WITH RESPECT TO FINANCIAL BACKING, VANNI SAID IRVING BROWN HAD INDICATED THAT THE AMERICAN LABOR MOVEMENT WAS PREPARED TO GIVE MAJOR SUPPORT TO THE NEW CONFEDERATION. THIS WAS VITAL BECAUSE NEITHER HE NOR THE CISL MINORITY WILL HAVE MUCH IN THE WAY OF ASSETS AT THE OUTSET.

5. VANNI PLANS TO VISIT THE US IN AUGUST, AT THE SAME TIME AS (AND, BY AND LARGE, IN THE COMPANY OF) PAOLO SARTORI WHO WILL BE VISITING THE US UNDER AN IVP GRANT. HE INDICATED, HOWEVER, THAT HE MIGHT ALSO VISIT WASHINGTON FOR A COUPLE OF DAYS IN APRIL, EITHER JUST PRIOR TO OR JUST AFTER THE CCU GENERAL COUNCIL SESSIONS (NOW FIXED FOR APRIL 16-18) SLATED TO DISCUSS FURTHER PLANS FOR LABOR UNITY, DEPENDING ON CIRCUMSTANCES. HE WOULD PLAN TO SEE AMERICAN LABOR LEADERS ON THESE OCCASIONS.

6. VANNI STATED THAT THE WORST THING THAT COULD HAPPEN DURING THE APRIL LABOR UNITY MEETINGS WOULD BE FOR LAMA AND STORTI TO AGREE TO VANNI'S POSITION THAT THE FEDERATION CGIL-CISL-UIL (CCU) WAS AS FAR AS THE THREE CONFEDERATIONS SHOULD GO AT PRESENT WITH REPECT TO UNIFICATION. THIS, SAID VANNI, WOULD PUT HIM IN A VERY DIFFICULT POSITION, SINCE HE WOULD BE HARD PUT TO OPPOSE IT, WHEREAS

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 ROME 02733 251631Z

THE CGIL AND CISL COULD THEN PROCEED TO ERODE HIS POSTION FROM BELOW, BY WORKING THROUGH THE FACTORY COUNCILS AND THROUGH THE INSTITUTIONALIZATION OF CCU STRUCTURES. HE WAS HOPEFUL, RATHER, THAT LAMA WOULD PUSH HIS EARLIER THESIS OF INSISTING UPON PROCEEDING TOWARD ORGANIC UNITY WITH ALL THOSE WHO WOULD GO ALONG, AND LEAVING THE REST TO FEND FOR THEMSELVES. UNDER THESE CONDITIONS, A CLEARCUT BREAK COULD MORE EASILY BE MADE.

7. POLITICAL BACKING FOR THESE PLANS WAS IMPORTANT, AND NOT YET FULLY IN HAND. VANNI INDICATED THAT DEPUTY PRIME MINISTRY LA MALFA, LEADER OF THE REPUBLICANS, WAS IN ACCORD. DC PARLIAMENTARY LEADER PICCOLI ALSO SUPPORTED THE PLANS. DC CHIEF FANFANI, HOWEVER, HAS NOT TAKEN SIDES AS BETWEEN STORTI AND THE CISL MINORITY, NOT WISH-

ING TO ALIENATE ANY CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC ELEMENTS AT A TIME WHEN THE DC

WAS WORKING HARD TO MINIMIZE EXPECTED LOSSES IN THE FORTHCOMING REGIONAL AND PROVINCIAL ELECTIONS. AS A CONSEQUENCE, STORTI WAS ABLE TO PROCLAIM THAT HE HAD FANFANI'S SUPPORT, IN THE ABSENCE OF CLEAR EVIDENCE OF FANFANI'S DISAPPROVAL. AS TO THE ELECTION

PROSPECTS, VANNI FELT THAT EVEN WORSE THAN SIZEABLE DC LOSSES WOULD BE SUBSTANTIAL SOCIALIST GAINS, I.E., IF THE DC LOSSES WERE TO THE REPUBLICANS AND SOCIAL DEMOCRATS, THERE WOULD MERELY BE A RE-ARRANGEMENT OF THE GENUINE DEMOCRATIC FORCES. STRENGTHENED PSI,

HOWEVER, WOULD BECOME AN INTRACTABLE ELEMENT ON THE POLITICAL SCENE, HE FELT. VANNI COMPLAINED THAT OTHER LIKE-MINDED LABOR LEADERS, SUCH AS SARTORI, MARINI, IANNONE AND OTHERS, REGULARLY AGREED THAT ALL SHOULD ACT JOINTLY IN OPPOSING UNITY, BUT IN PRACTICE THEY HUNG BACK AND TENDED TO HIDE BEHIND POSITIONS TAKEN BY VANNI.

THIS COULD NOT GO ON, HE SAID, AND THE TIME FOR RESOLUTE JOINT ACTION WAS AT HAND. AS TO SARTORI'S REGULAR ASSERTIONS DENYING ANY INTENTION TO SECEDE FROM CISL, AND ADVOCATING THE ALTERATION OF CISL POLICY FROM WITHIN, VANNI INDICATED THIS WAS PRIMARILY DESIGNED TO DIFFERENTIATE SARTORI FROM SCALIA. IN FACT, IT WAS CLEAR TO SARTORI THAT MATTERS COULD NOT LONG PROCEED ALONG CURRENT LINES WITHOUT THE EROSION OF THE CISL MINORITY'S STRENGTH.

8. COMMENT. THE FORMATION OF A NEW CONFEDERATION HAS FREQUENTLY CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 ROME 02733 251631Z

BEEN FORECAST IN THE PAST, BUT THIS IS THE FIRST TIME VANNI HAS DECLARED HIMSELF ALONG THESE LINES. HE APPEARS CONFIDENT THAT A VIABLE ORGANIZATION CAN BE LAUNCHED, AND CONVINCED THAT ITS FORMATION CANNOT MUCH LONGER BE AVOIDED. CLEARLY, THERE ARE SOME PARTS TO BE PUT TOGETHER BEFORE THE PLAN CAN BE CONSIDERED FINAL, E.G., THE FIRM SUPPORT OF ALL THE ELEMENTS VANNI SEES AS VITAL TO THE VENTURE'S SUCCESS. NEVERTHELESS, THIS IS THE MOST SERIOUS PROSPECT FOR THE FORMATION OF A NEW ANTI-COMMUNIST LABOR CONFEDERATION WHICH HAS EMERGED TO DATE. VOLPE

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